1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

ceed in obtaining any evidence to show whether the other clans also had any characteristic or distinctive facial tattoo, for this practice was abandoned so long ago that the memory of it has been obliterated.

The former existence of similar distinctive elements, now lost, would explain some of the differences in the statements of the early writers about Tukuna facial tattooing (see p. 39). Nino once told me that the members of the clan ɔ'/ta' (chicken) could be recognized from afar, since, when walking, they used to nod their heads just like chickens, but as this clan did not live in that locality, he could not prove his statement by concrete examples. In conversation, a certain Indian told some others that he was a runt because he belonged to the clan čë'vë'ru, the name of a small kind of auahy. Lastly, an Indian once said that I should belong to the clan kaurë' (Japihím) because, like that bird, I had blue eyes. In any case, the idea that some characteristic of the eponym should, or may, appear in the members of a clan is not entirely strange to the Tukuna.

In the feather ornaments used even today at the rites of passage there is not a single clan distinction. On the wall of the girl's seclusion hut a figure of a deer is painted, not because this animal is related to any clan, but because the deer is the symbol of that vigilance which the girl and those responsible for her should observe.

It is said that the members of the clan të'ma (Burity) formerly spoke a language different from the others', a statement that could be true only if this clan had been collectively localized. There is a legend that refers to the origin of the clans, but not of their names, since it relates only how the culture hero dyoi', after fishing, in the company of his brother e'pi, for the first men, separated his people from his brother's, this separation being the origin of the moieties. Afterward he ordered a *jacurarú* to be cooked, and all were obliged to taste the broth; thus each one learned to which clan he belonged. According to another version, a pot containing a boiled *jacuruxy* was sent from heaven by ta-ë' ("Our Mother") for the same purpose (see p. 114). I do not believe that these facts justify classifying the Tukuna clans as totemic, as the Capuchin missionary Frei Fidelis, after only lightly touching the subject, would like to do.[1] There is not a trace of belief in a mystical parenthood common to members of a clan and the respective tree or animal correlated with it, nor do these correlations represent any emotional value.

The personal name.—There is one element, however, by which an informed person may recognize an individual's clan without directly asking him: the personal name, which in veiled fashion indicates or connotes the tree or animal of the clan by reference to some quality, as illustrated in the following tabulation.

Clan čiva'
(Seringarana; jaguar)

Personal Name	Meaning	Analysis
♂ ʋanë'-kị	false [jaguar], that is, one that does not pursue man	ʋanë', false; kị, masc name suffix
♂ nu'ë'tị-kị	evil-eyed [jaguar]	nu', bad; ë'tị, eye

[1] The author's opinion only. Most anthropologists would unhesitatingly dub the phenomenon totemic.—Ed.